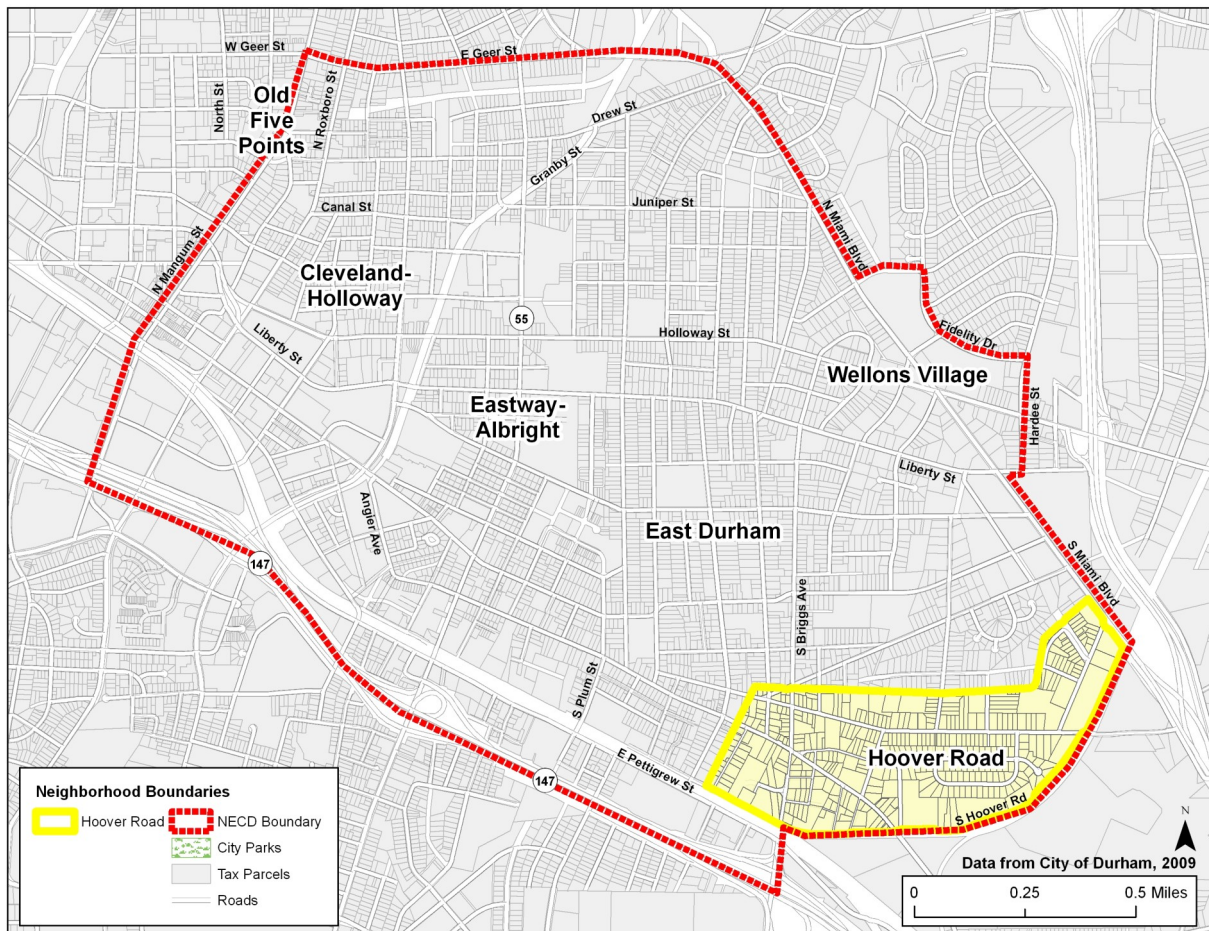


The Hoover Road and Owen Street Neighborhood Plan



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Part I: Contextual & Background Data

The Hoover Road neighborhood is located in Northeast Central Durham near the Durham Freeway (NC-147). This neighborhood, which has many assets, including an active group of citizens, is working to reduce neighborhood problems such as prostitution, drug abuse, high vacancy rates, and blight. This report gives an overview of the area and a list of current conditions, which will hopefully provide a springboard for future action. The “Owen Street Neighborhood” will be used to refer to the part of the greater Hoover Road Neighborhood that is not the Hoover Road Apartments.

History

Finding historical data specific to the Hoover Road neighborhood was difficult, given its small scale with the rest of Northeast Central Durham. From visiting the site, it is clear that heavy industry dominates the area, which is as true today as it was in the past. In 1897, Samuel Tate Morgan founded the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Fertilizer Company, which was based out of Richmond, Virginia (Keuber, 2009). The firm was located at the intersection of Angier Avenue and South Hoover Road. While the structures were demolished in the 1970s, a new industrial center was born which hosts various companies, such as Thomas Concrete (Keuber, 2009). Elizabeth Matthews, a resident of the neighborhood for over 50 years, has said that the area used to thrive with industrial jobs, restaurants, and other amenities, such as a dry cleaning store.

Although industrial land uses dominate the Hoover Road landscape, several residential neighborhoods help define it. Along with the single-family homes, the neighborhood also houses the Hoover Road Apartments, which were built in 1968 and are part of Durham’s Conventional Public Housing Program. These are the brick structures pictured in *Image 2*. The apartments have 54 units, as well as a common area operated by Durham’s Parks and Recreation Department.

Image 1: The Abandoned Boone Court Apartments



Geographic Boundaries

The borders of the neighborhood are comprised of the railroad tracks to the south, Salem Road to the west, Ashe Street on the north, and the Ashe Street/Hoover Road intersection on the east. The area mostly contains single-family houses and the 54-unit public housing apartment complex. These boundaries were determined after interviews with key informants. The boundaries also contain the Boone Court Apartments. The Boone Court apart-

ments are actually a collection of five, single-gabled, roughly square duplexes that have been vacant for years. The property is located at 518 Boone Street, almost directly across from Hoover Road Apartments. The collection of buildings is referred to as "Boone Court" because the structures are located on an unnamed cul-de-sac located off Boone Street. The buildings are immediately adjacent to five occupied, single-family homes which have frontage along Boone Street, Owen Street, and Bingham Street.

Zoning

The Hoover Road area has long been home to industrial operations dating as far back as 1897, and the existence of the rail network prompted this early industrial activity. As the zoning map in **Figure 1** indicates, the industrial history of the area-industrial zones border all the southern portions of the Hoover Road area. Both light and general industries are permitted, and uses in the area include a recycled materials collection and transfer station, a concrete plant, and numerous scrap yards. There are a few industrial warehouses as well. Also worth noting, there are several automotive-oriented establishments on Angier Avenue that are located in the "Industrial Light" zone. These industrial zones along Angier Avenue abut residential properties, which can make for an unsightly living experience.

The majority of the lots in the neighborhood are zoned for single-family detached housing. There are a few scattered parcels that are zoned for duplexes, and only two small sections zoned for multi-family units. The only recognizable multi-family apartment dwelling (excluding townhomes and duplexes) in the area is Hoover Road Apartments. Several of the newer units in the area are duplexes, and their location matches the appropriate "RU-5 (2)" zoning district that allows for duplexes under the urban residential regulations.

Image 2: Hoover Road Apartments



The only commercial zones in the neighborhood are found along Angier Avenue. All but one commercial property is zoned "Commercial Neighborhood," which is a district that encourages pedestrian-oriented commerce to provide a smooth transition with surrounding residential areas. The only commercial property zoned otherwise is an older building on Angier Avenue that is zoned "Commercial General," allowing for broader commercial activities. Most of the lots zoned commercial are in fact vacant or otherwise unoccupied. One of the most highly touted commercial enterprises is the hot dog shop at Angier Avenue and Hoover Road. Ironically, that parcel is broadly zoned for light industrial use.

Figure 1: Hoover Road Neighborhood Land Use Classification

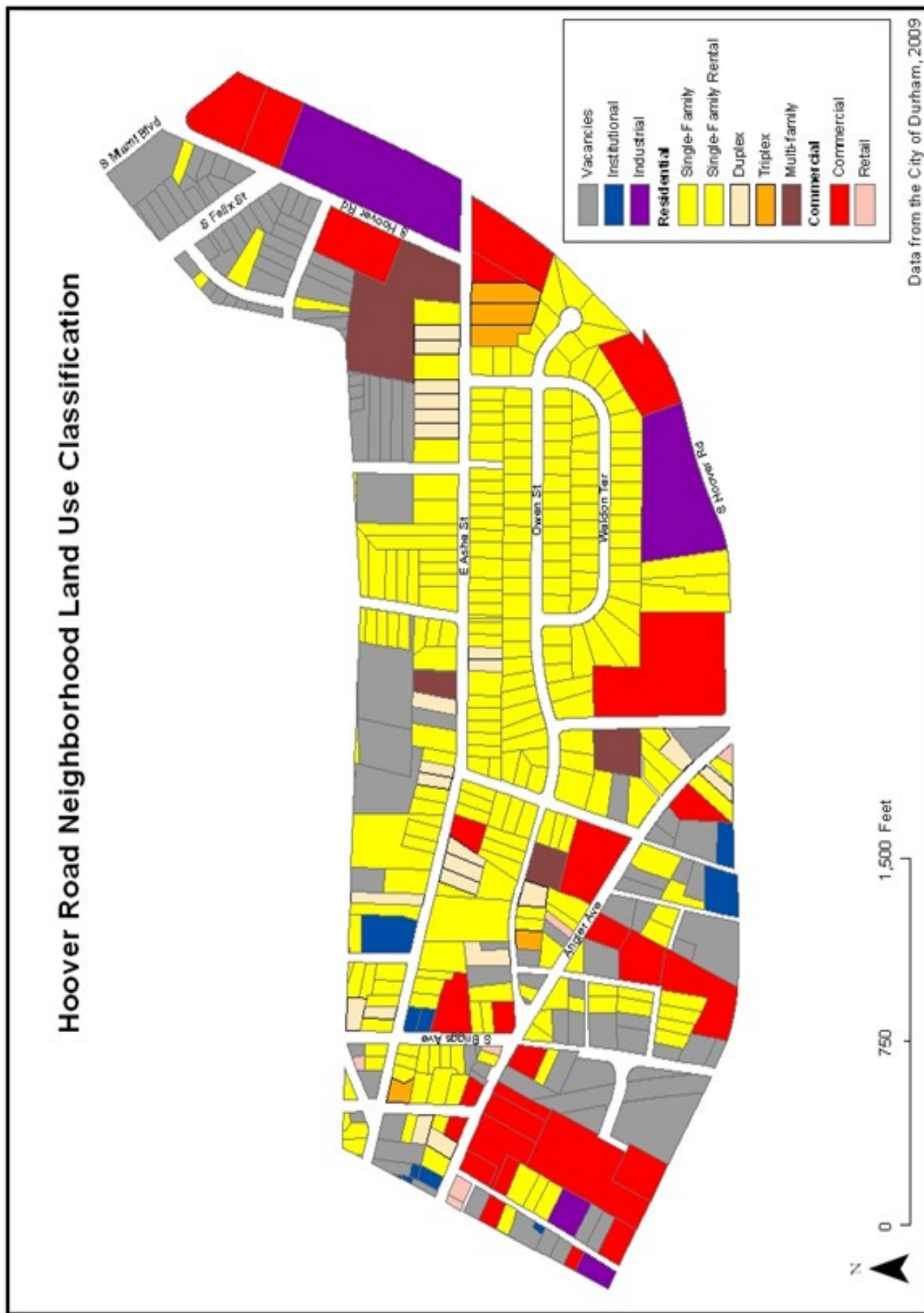


Figure 2: Hoover Road Neighborhood Demographics

Demographic Information	Neighborhood 1990	Neighborhood 2000	% Change 1990-2000	Northeast Central Durham 2000	% of NECD	City of Durham 2000	% of Durham
Population	1,213	1,653	36.27%	24,848	100.00%	187,035	100.00%
Race/Ethnicity							
African-American	925	1,222	32.11%	18,035	72.58%	81,937	43.81%
Hispanic	8	224	2700.00%	4,279	17.22%	16,012	8.56%
Asian	1	0	-100.00%	47	0.19%	6,815	3.64%
White	278	243	-12.59%	3,694	14.87%	85,126	45.51%
American Indian/Native American	5	12	140.00%	107	0.43%	575	0.31%
Age							
0-19	411	585	42.34%	8,533	34.34%	49,742	26.60%
20 to 34	279	314	12.54%	6,865	27.63%	57,041	30.50%
35 to 54	307	433	41.04%	6,299	25.35%	51,125	27.33%
55 to 64	90	90	0.00%	1,330	5.35%	11,712	6.26%
Over 65	126	190	50.79%	728	2.93%	17,415	9.31%

Source: US Census Bureau, Census 1990 and 2000, SF1

Demographics

The Hoover Road Neighborhood is situated within Census Tract 10.01, Block Group 3, therefore, the demographics for this Block Group will be used to describe neighborhood characteristics. The population of the Census Tract 10.01, Block Group 3 in 2000 was 1,653, which had increased from 1,213 in 1990. In 2000, this neighborhood consisted of 73.9% African-American, 14.7% Whites, and 13.5% Hispanics. In 1990, the area was 22.3% White and less than 1% Hispanic, and 76.3% African-American, so Hispanics have by far been the fastest growing ethnic group, replacing people of other races. The number of people in the 55 to 64 age bracket saw no change in the ten years between the censuses, and 20 to 34 year-olds have seen slow growth, while the other age brackets have grown steadily.

Crime

Crime in the Hoover Road area is a major concern for the residents. While these numbers appear to be low, **Figure 3 and 4** provide a better visual overview of the locations and incidences of crime in the Hoover Road area from 2007-2008, supplemented by **Figure 5**. Crime seems to be rising in Hoover Road relative to other NECD neighborhoods during the 2007-2008 period. It is possible that this is the result of Operation Bull's Eye's efforts to stop

crime in other neighborhoods is displacing activity to Hoover Road. It should also be noted that many residents perceive that crime is occurring in this neighborhood and this perception alone is influential to their quality of life. The same is so for crimes that appear to go unreported.

Figure 3: Crime Hot Spots in the Hoover Road Neighborhood

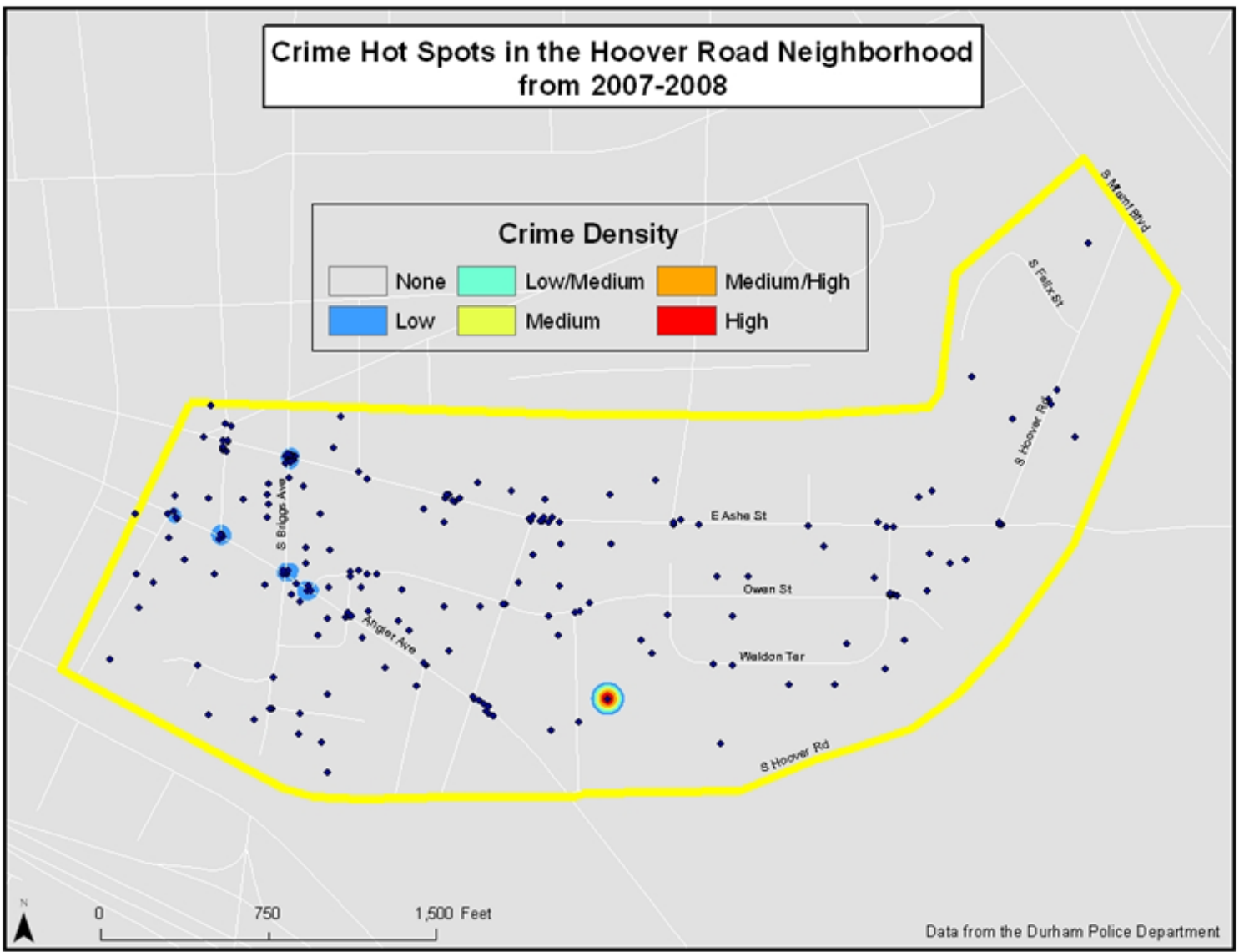


Figure 4: Incidence of Crime in the Hoover Road Neighborhood

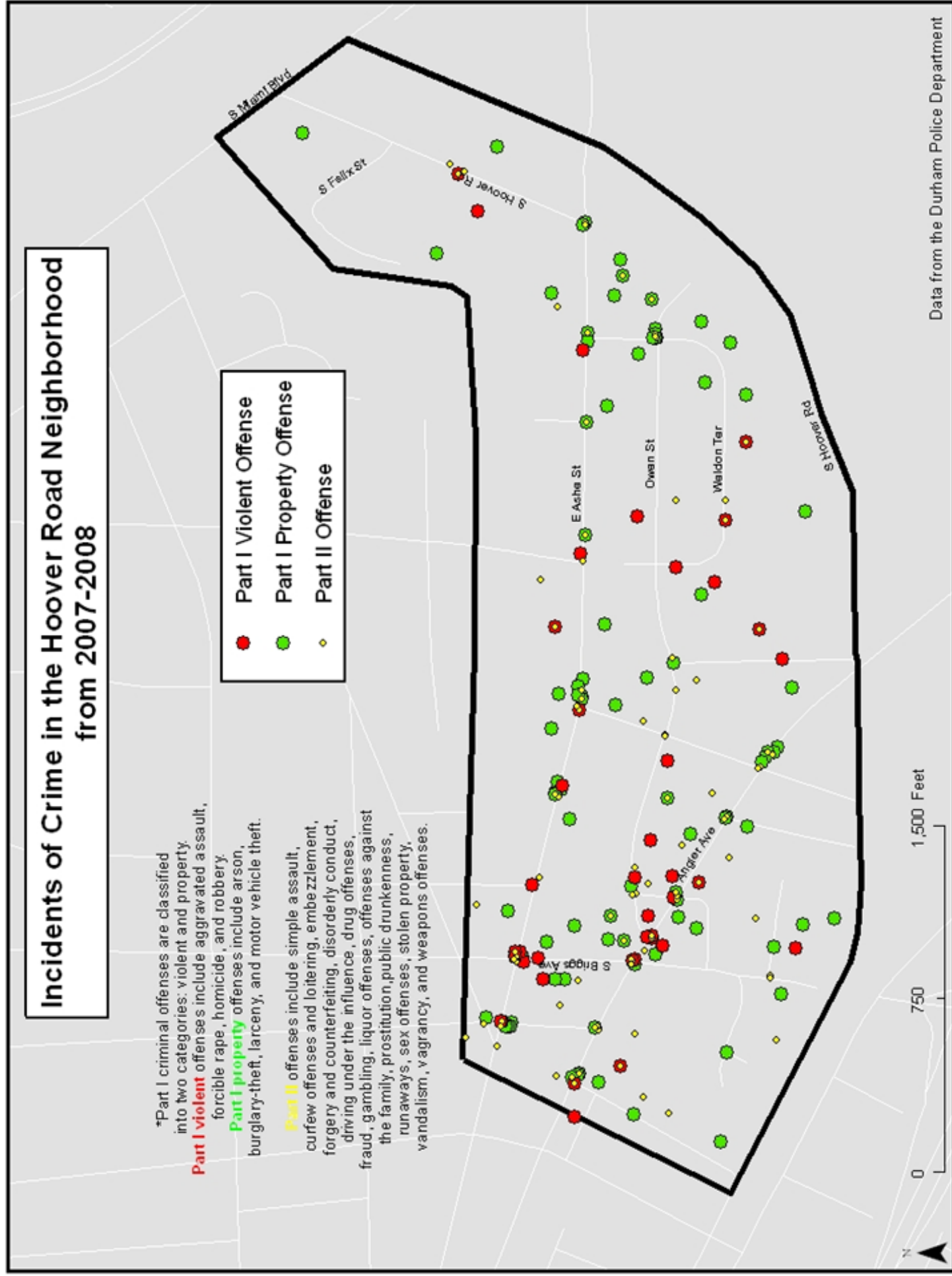


Figure 5: Hoover Road Neighborhood Crime Statistics

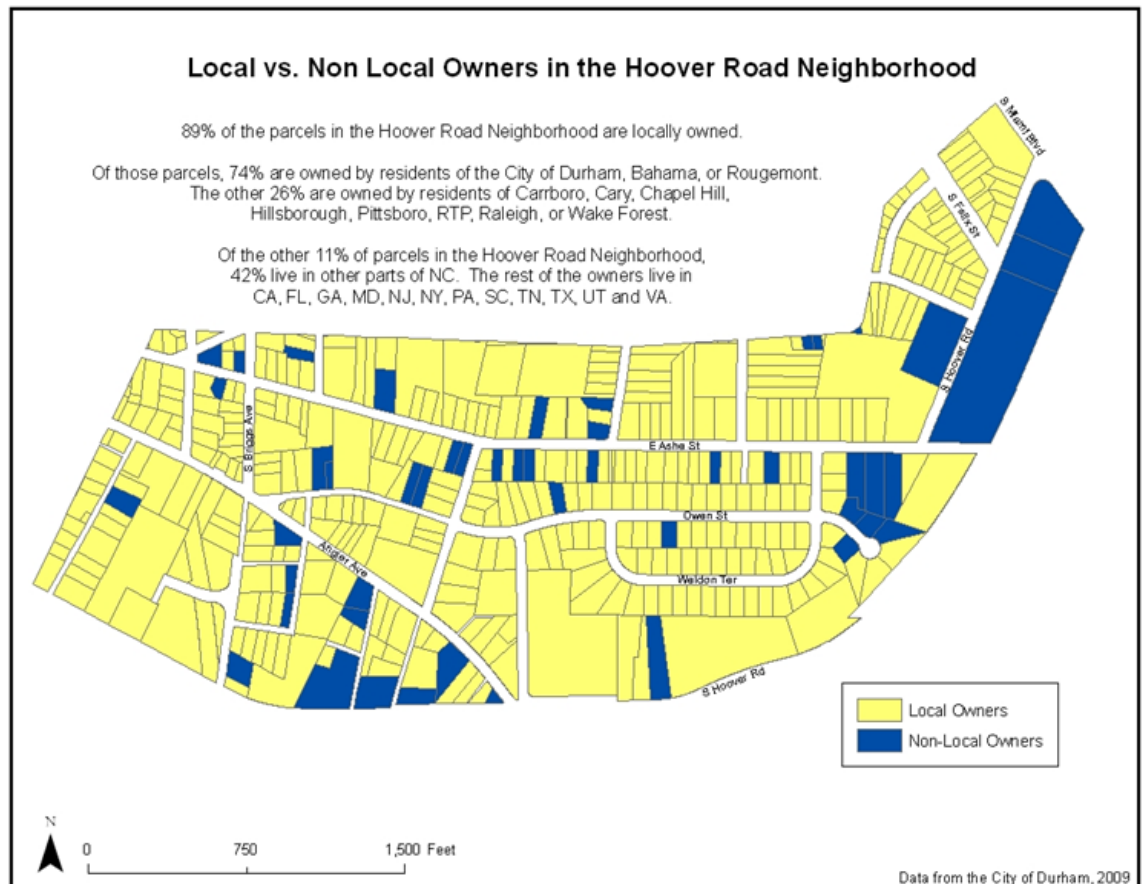
Crime	Hoover Road Neighborhood 2007	Hoover Road Neighborhood 2008	% Change 2007-2008	Northeast Central Durham	% of NECD	City of Durham	% of Durham
Arson	0	0	0.00%	7	0.23%	27	0.18%
Assault	9	16	77.78%	514	16.95%	2,077	14.07%
Burglary	13	18	38.46%	869	28.66%	3,481	23.57%
Homicide	0	0	0.00%	7	0.23%	22	0.15%
Larceny	17	21	23.53%	1,234	40.70%	7,351	49.78%
Motor Vehicle Theft	5	5	0.00%	201	6.63%	856	5.80%
Robbery	5	4	-20.00%	182	6.00%	885	5.99%
Rape	1	0	-100.00%	18	0.59%	68	0.46%

Source: Durham Police Department, January 2008-December 2008

Housing

In 2000, there were 617 total housing units in the neighborhood; 72.3% were single-family detached structures and 15.2% were duplexes. The majority of homes in the Census Tract 10.01, Block Group 3 were built before 1970: 88% were built before 1970, 32% were built during 1940-1959, and another 32% were built during 1960-1969. No homes were built between 1994 and 2000. About 30% of residents have lived in the neighborhood since the 1980s or before. According to the 2000 U. S. Census, 45.8% of the units are owner-occupied, and 54.2% are renter-occupied, of which 35% of owners and 40% (35% in 1990) of renters pay more than 30% of their income on housing. The percentage of abandoned structures, 15, remained the same between 1990 and 2000. In 2000, 20 units

Figure 6: Local vs. Non Local Owners in the Hoover Road Neighborhood



lacked complete plumbing facilities, and fifteen lacked complete kitchen facilities, which is evidence of poor housing quality.

Figure 7: Housing Statistics in Hoover Road Neighborhood

Housing	Neighborhood 1990	Neighborhood 2000	% Change 1990-2000	Northeast Central Durham	% of NECD	City of Durham	% of Durham
Total Households	433	525	21.25%	8492	100.00%	74981	100.00%
Household Size	3.22	3.15	-2.17%	2.7	-	2.4	-
Single Headed Householder	249	322	29.32%	2391	28.16%	11954	15.94%
Non-family Households	26	35	34.62%	1933	22.76%	31423	41.91%
Housing Units	518	614	18.53%	9458	100.00%	80797	100.00%
Occupancy Status							
Occupied Units	433	525	21.25%	8492	89.79%	74981	92.80%
Vacant Units	85	89	4.71%	966	10.21%	5816	7.20%
Tenure Status							
Owner Occupied Units	203	201	-0.99%	2141	25.21%	36645	48.87%
Renter Occupied Units	230	324	40.87%	6351	74.79%	38336	51.13%

Source: US Census Bureau, Census 1990 and 2000, SF1

The neighborhood character is dominated by the imposing 54-unit public housing structure known as Hoover Road Apartments. It has a courtyard and small playground, but the paint is drab and a six-foot high metal fence surrounds the complex. The remainder of the neighborhood is a collection of well-maintained homes, with a sprinkling of boarded-up and/or abandoned structures. Most noticeably, the abandoned homes were on Boone Street, Angier Avenue, Hoover Road, Weldon Street, Ashe Street and the unpaved neighborhood that consists of Kate/Bruce/Briggs Avenue. Conversely, Ashe Street has experienced some new townhome development, while Benjamin Street has seen reinvestment with new houses, infill projects by Saving Carolina's Rent & Own, and the presence of ACORN (as demonstrated by a yard sign). A few vacant lots are used as dumping grounds, and other occupied units also have non-traditional objects stored in their yards, but for the most part, the single-family units are well-kept.

Economic Status

In the 2000 Census, Census Tract 10.01, Block Group 3 the top three industries were health care and social assistance; retail trade and accommodation; and food services, all low-paying service industry jobs. Between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, there was a decrease of 119 workers. The median household income in 1990 was \$15,417 (in 2000 dollars: \$20,312), and \$17,560 in 2000. In real dollars, the median income fell during

the decade between the Censuses. The poverty level also increased from 35.1% to 38% while unemployment went from 6.0% to 7.4%, and those age 16 and older “not in labor force” increased from 37% to 42%.

Transportation

Hoover Road’s location in the greater NECD neighborhood brings transportation issues to the forefront. Hoover Road is in the extreme southeast corner of NECD and is plagued by isolation even though it is relatively accessible from both the Durham Freeway and US-70. Further, nearly one-in-four households does not have access to a vehicle (24%), which increases the importance of adequate multimodal transportation options (US Census, 2000).

A site visit revealed that there is a sufficient sidewalk network to facilitate pedestrian traffic. Angier Avenue is the only street in the neighborhood with sidewalks on both sides of the street, and this is necessary considering its historic role as the commercial corridor. The other side streets are non-arterial and do not necessitate the need for double sidewalks. The few streets that lack sidewalks outright seem to either be wide enough to safely support pedestrians and vehicles or are simply useless routes to the pedestrian. Bicycle traffic is able to flow freely through the neighborhood but perhaps could be improved if Angier or a parallel street were fitted with bike lanes and signs indicating shared road space. Though the pavement quality is poor, Hoover Road provides just as smooth if not smoother surface for bicycling when compared to the rest of Durham’s streets —that is if the rider is agile enough to safely navigate around the numerous potholes and patches.

Route 2 of the Durham Area Transit Authority (DATA) services the Hoover Road area along Angier Avenue. Circulation frequency is 30 minutes throughout the day, from 6am to 7pm with hourly service continuing until midnight. Route 2 connects downtown Durham and the intersection of Highway 70 and Angier via those two roads. Three bus stops for this route are conveniently located on Angier at Briggs Avenue, Bingham Street, and the railroad tracks. In addition to Route 2, and only 0.7 miles from Hoover Road Apartments, there is a bus stop for Route 13 at the corner of Briggs Avenue and Main Street. Route 13 provides service to North Carolina Central University and the Birchwood Community to the northeast. Of these four bus stops, there is only a single bus shelter at the westbound/downtown stop for Route 2 at Angier and the railroad tracks, just steps from Hoover Road Apartments.

The pavement conditions throughout the Hoover Road area deserve ample discussion. Angier Avenue, where it passes through the Hoover Road area, is entirely owned and maintained by the NCDOT. This section has the highest quality pavement in the neighborhood, as it should since it is a main artery. In addition, the remaining roads are all city maintained. Bruce Street, King Street, Kate Street, and Briggs Avenue, south of An-

gier Avenue, are all unpaved roads. There are a few housing units and several industrial businesses along these roads. In addition to these conditions, Hoover Road between Angier and Ashe Street was recently rated “0” on a scale of 0 to 100 in a pavement quality survey of all the city’s roads as conducted by the Public Works Division (Durham Public Works Department, 2007). In fact, according to the 2007 report, at least one section of every road in the Hoover Road area (Ashe Street, Bingham Street, Boone Street, Owen Street, S Briggs Avenue, S Hoover Road, and Weldon Terrace) was recommended for resurfacing. Only Bingham Street had some sections that scored in the 80s and called for just patchwork repairs (Durham Public Works Department, 2007). A site visit revealed that the easternmost portions of Owen Street have chip-seal surfacing, which is a very low-cost surface treatment generally regarded as one small step up from unpaved roads. It is worth noting that since the 2007 report, the Public Works Division has provided high quality resurfacing to the entirety of Weldon Terrace and a portion of Boone Street, and this is work that ought to be done throughout the neighborhood, particularly on Hoover Road.

Identification of Community Assets

Within the Hoover Road area, many assets of the neighborhood can be identified and can be drawn upon during the revitalization efforts. The great housing stock and resident stability and activism are keys to any successful neighborhood. In addition, the location of the neighborhood near downtown Durham and Research Triangle Park is optimal for anyone working in these areas. The industries near the edge of the community are also a major asset, which could have long lasting positive effects upon the economic welfare of the neighborhood and its residents. In addition, the strength of the stakeholders and their activism could definitely play a large role in the reemergence of this area as a viable and growing neighborhood. Hopefully, these assets can be used to their fullest extent in the future and can help to revitalize the Hoover Road area.

Convenient Location. Conveniently located three miles from downtown Durham and about four miles from Research Triangle Park (RTP), Hoover Road would be a prime location for anyone working in the downtown or RTP areas because of the low commuting time from home to work. In addition, residents would be near the amenities that an active downtown provides. The neighborhood is also located near the Durham Freeway (NC-147), allowing any area of Durham to be easily accessible.

High-Quality Housing Stock. The neighborhood has well-maintained, single-family homes with stylistic variation from one to the next. According to an interview with Vivian McCoy, most of the houses in the neighborhood have basements and hardwood floors. The yards are full of mature trees and have plenty of greenspace as does the entire Hoover Road area, which could possibly be used for neighborhood parks or walking trails.

Strong Community Activism. In addition to the active residents who live in the area, other people play important roles in the Hoover Road community. A group of about ten men have taken a keen interest in the welfare of the community and provide constant support and acts of charity. Leading this group is Mr. Rose, a former resident of the neighborhood that still owns and operates Rose Paint & Body on Angier Avenue. Everett Waller is also a participant in this informal group. Other community members speak about this group with a sense of pride and respect, suggesting that the group has a considerable share of influence in the community. Interesting to note is that several of these informal members do not live in the community, which means they could be the gateway to additional resources and social capital.

Stability of Homeowners. According to Ms. McCoy, the stability of the homeowners is a strong asset and an important network. She named several of her neighbors who have lived in the area for over 40 years, some which are key stakeholders. In addition, Ms. McCoy stated that the neighbors know one another and say “Hello” to each other on the sidewalks. These relationships are vital in encouraging and maintaining the long-term stability of the neighborhood. This social network allows resources to be pooled because people are more likely to work to revitalize their neighborhood and community when they share a common bond. This strong social network can be found in the community activists who work for the needs of the neighborhood. This involvement is crucial in revitalizing a neighborhood, for without these voices, the concerns would never be raised and no action would be taken.

Location to Industrial Sectors. A possible business and economic asset is the close proximity that the neighborhood has to the industrial area. While this could be considered a negative feature aesthetically, the potential that these industries have is great. If more businesses could be attracted to the area, more jobs would be available for people living in the Hoover Road neighborhood. Employees could easily get to work, which is a benefit since a significant number of residents do not own cars. This economic opportunity would have a positive impact for the neighborhood because the residents would be able to increase their capital and their assets. This newfound capital could be used to stimulate the economy of the neighborhood and bring more businesses to the area.

Potential Connections to Educational Opportunities. It is interesting to note that North Carolina Central University and Durham Technical Community College are both located just southwest of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, the industrial areas, the railroad tracks, and the Durham Freeway all separate these institutions from the neighborhood, making the schools seem much farther away. Currently, there is not any known cooperation between these schools and the community, but perhaps their relative proximity could stimulate a future partnership.

Short-Term Priorities

Short-Term Priority 1: Boone Court Duplexes

One of the most pressing short-term issues in the Hoover Road/Owen Street area is the demolition of the dilapidated duplex structures at 518 Boone Court. Every resident that has been contacted from the Hoover Road and Owen Street area has revealed that the vacant properties at Boone Court are a major problem to the neighborhood. Homeowners, especially those with property abutting the abandoned duplex complex, most readily identified these properties as the single-largest obstacle to achieving neighborhood revitalization. The city had required the owner, Haskell Properties and James “Fireball” White, to make necessary repairs but in January 2009, determined that

he had not made “a continuous effort” and scheduled the properties to be demolished. The *Herald-Sun* reported on February 2, 2009, that Neighborhood Improvement Services (NIS) had slated the buildings to be bulldozed “sometime in the next two weeks” (Herald-Sun, 2009). Funding had been appropriated, and bids were accepted to demolish the multiple buildings on site. However, before demolition could be realized, the newspaper article brought attention to the city’s pending actions and

Image 3: Inside the Boone Court Apartments



prompted a formal hearing before a Federal Bankruptcy Court as sought by the property owner’s attorney. On April 14, 2009, the court granted the owner an additional 90 days to bring the properties to full code compliance. However, there is a steady history of non-compliance from the property owners.

The buildings have been vacant since at least 2003, according to the Vacant House List prepared in that year by the Department of Housing and Community Development. Further records from NIS show the property has a history of violations with 17 official inspections resulting in 17 documented violations from 2000 to 2006. In 2003, NIS received citizen complaints regarding the state of the vacant property and requested that the owners submit a business plan detailing how the property was to be restored to a livable condition. The property owner made verbal promises to the department, without any actual actions taken. Further citizen complaints in 2005 and 2007 spurred additional requests made to the property owner by NIS for the submis-

sion of formal business plans for the properties. No such plans were submitted. In 2008, NIS decided to move forward to take action on the Boone Court properties. Following a property inspection on August 22, 2008, a formal “Complaint and Notice” was presented to the property owners by NIS, alerting the owners to an upcoming hearing. On October 6, 2008, a formal hearing was conducted but the property owners chose not to participate. A compliance deadline of January 5, 2009, passed without significant progress shown which initiated the first demolition attempts in February 2009.

Although the property appears to be boarded up when viewed from Boone Street, vandals and other criminals have pulled the plywood boards off many of the rear windows to gain access to the buildings. Thus even today, illicit activities such as drug dealing, drug use, and prostitution occur inside the buildings. Much of this activity is within plain view of homes adjacent to the property. The physical location of the Boone Court buildings seems to foster these activities as the properties are tucked within a cul-de-sac directly across from Hoover Road Apartments. The current criminal activity is said to be conducted mostly by those who reside outside the community but travel to the site to partake in illicit activities. Though nearby residents fought for the placement of three Jersey barriers to block through traffic on Boone Street, it is assumed that this road closure has only further isolated the properties at Boone Court and has likely entrenched the buildings’ reputation and attraction for nefarious activity.

Criminal activity in the area peaked about 5-10 years ago, and many residents—homeowners and apartment dwellers alike—believe that once the structures at Boone Court are removed, it will signal the fall of the last remaining stronghold of criminal activity. There is a powerful stigma associated with these buildings, and residents along with city officials agree that the removal of these buildings is central to cultivating momentum for further neighborhood rebound. NIS has already “encumbered \$22,500 to demolish Boone Court” and expects the legal procedure to move ahead swiftly.

Short-Term Priority 2: Streetlights

Residents of Owen Street have identified several locations where streetlights could improve safety and drive out criminal activity. These areas are all located along Boone Street, from the intersection of Hoover Road northward to include the Boone Court cul-de-sac and extending to the intersection of

Image 4: Inside the Boone Court Apartments



Owen Street. In the past, this area has been susceptible to streetlight outages by gunshot or other projectile damage to the light fixtures. The Public Works Department has recently installed bulletproof shielding on one of the streetlight fixtures on Boone Street and others in the broader neighborhood. Residents applauded these improvements and expressed interest in expanding this treatment. The city has contracts with Duke Energy to provide and maintain streetlights, but the city has purchased the shielding devices separately.

In addition to the municipal lighting, the residents of both the Hoover Road apartments and the surrounding area have stated that maintenance of outdoor lighting within the apartment complex is a serious issue. Within the Hoover Road apartments, a number of months passed during this study period without repairs made to nonfunctioning outdoor lighting. The President of the Hoover Road Apartments' Resident Association, Dee Mitchell, has stated that she and other residents do not feel comfortable venturing outside due to the lack of consistently working outdoor lights at the apartment complex. She easily named several locations where current lighting is not adequate and additional lighting would be necessary to increase safety. Similar to the municipal streetlight contracts, Duke Energy has an outdoor lighting contract with Durham Housing Authority to install and maintain outdoor lighting on the premises.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design is a product of the National Institute for Crime Prevention, which offers different principles to encourage safety through design; increased street lighting is one of the methods in which to create safer neighborhoods (National Community Development & Crime Prevention Institute, 2009).

Given that the Hoover Road Apartments are part of the community-funded public housing program of the Durham Housing Authority, which is federally funded through the Housing and Urban Development Agency, the large bureaucracy could create political problems when trying to get more outdoor lights for the area. Funding and coordinating between different agencies could be a challenge; however, it is something that can have a substantial impact on the residents of Hoover Road. In addition, it will help build trust between different government agencies in the area and residents.

Short-Term Priority 3: Police Presence

Lack of police presence is a critical issue for the Hoover Road area. A police officer was once stationed full-time at the apartment complex but the practice was terminated due to a lack of funding from the Durham Housing Authority. Since that time, police patrols and involvement have largely decreased as this area falls outside of the targeted "Bull's Eye" of increased police efforts in NECD. Residents at the Hoover Road Apartments are concerned about their safety. One resident said that she always comes home before dark and rarely leaves her apartment at night because she is not comfortable being outside at night. In addition, the

area has problems with the presence of drug dealers and prostitutes and the people who come to the area seeking their services. Thus, the area is viewed as unsafe, and increased police presence would help to rectify this issue.

At a Hoover Road Apartments residents' meeting held on April 22, 2009, residents remarked that the officers who had been stationed at the complex in the past knew the residents, their families, and their friends. The officers attended block parties and cookouts, went to children's birthday parties, and played basketball with the youth. Residents said that they felt comfortable contacting the officers with their concerns. Due to budget cuts, those police officers are no longer stationed at the Hoover Road Apartments. Instead, H.E.A.T. teams, or High Enforcement Abatement Teams, have been created in order to, according to the Durham Police Department:

Work in Public Housing Communities [to] have the primary responsibility of enforcing law, tracking criminal gang activity, planning and implementing effective criminal suppression tactics, investigating gang related crimes to include narcotics and weapons violations, and addressing other quality of life issues that occur in Public Housing Communities.¹

Another major responsibility of the HEAT teams includes building relationships with the residents of all Public Housing Communities. At the April 22, 2009, Hoover Road Apartments meeting, the H.E.A.T team was introduced to residents.

Residents are asked to report crimes to the H.E.A.T. team, yet many residents expressed concerns about calling the police because they do not want their neighbors to think they are "snitches." While incidents of serious repercussions have not been reported, residents do not feel comfortable calling the police even though they know that this will help deter crime in their neighborhood.

Short-Term Priority 4: Programs at Hoover Road

Hoover Road Apartments has a large and open community space that currently hosts an afterschool program run by Durham Parks and Recreation Department. Previously, there was a GED program operating in the community room for Hoover Road residents, which was popular with residents. Lack of funding and a transitional staff were factors that led to the program's discontinuation. There is ample interest, however, among Hoover Road apartment residents to see similar programs reinitiated.

Long-Term Priorities

Long-Term Priority 1: Building Community within Hoover Road Apartments

It may be valuable for Hoover Road Apartments to view "building community" as a top priority, possibly by increasing safety and educational and recreational opportunities, as mentioned in the short-term priorities

¹ Durham Police Department and Durham Housing Authority (2009). *Information about the High Enforcement Abatement Team*. Received on April 22, 2009, at a Residents' Meeting held at the Hoover Road Apartments, Durham, NC.

section. The Owen Street Neighborhood is successfully organizing, and once the Hoover Road Apartments community becomes more organized, it may be possible to foster joint programs. When the Boone Court Apartments are torn down, these two groups, along with the NECD Leadership Council and the Hoover Road Task Force created by Earl Philips, could be empowered by joining together to celebrate. Nonetheless, as it stands currently, the residents of Hoover Road Apartments are not nearly as well organized

Image 5: Single Family Homes in the Hoover Road Neighborhood



as their neighbors on Owen Street, as demonstrated by the sporadic and under-attended resident meetings.

Long-Term Priority 2: Reduce volume of drug and sex trade

Two closely tied issues that are currently plaguing the Hoover Road/Owen Street neighborhood are the high occurrence of both sex workers and drugs. Residents of both the Hoover Road Apartments and those in the Owen Street neighborhood acknowledge that people who live outside the community come to use the abandoned Boone Court apartments as a staging area for these activities. Even if the structures at Boone Court were demolished, there is no guarantee that the sex workers and drug trade will leave the area.

Researcher Clinard (2004) argues that efforts to crack down on prostitution generally fail for a number of reasons, including “sex for drugs” exchanges, which lower the amount that can be charged for services, forcing sex workers to compensate with more tricks or other criminal behavior which continues the cycle. It is more important to conduct research to discover “deviant street networks” to see if the behaviors are related. Providing a supportive, rehabilitative network or center for sex workers (such as the Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation in Portland, Oregon) and removing the pimps may provide a new and effective approach. Posting pictures of the “johns,” or the customers, to dissuade demand is another consideration.

Long-Term Priority 3: Economic development

An additional long-term issue that has repeatedly been voiced by residents of the Hoover Road area is that of rejuvenating a once-vibrant local economy. Longtime residents reminisce about the days when a bank, general store, and post office occupied the many shops at the Angier Avenue-Driver Street corridor. That commercial district has experienced decades of decay that has far-reaching effects on the quality of life and

sense of community even in the Hoover Road area.

Summary of Neighborhood Priorities

It is suggested that the short-term priority issues can be successfully and fully addressed within one to three years of action. The long-term priorities are those which will require consistent attention for years to come. With dedication and use of available resources, these issues can be handled. The area has a number of committed residents who can use their skills and voices to unite the neighborhood and address these issues. Several issues will require outside intervention from the city and other institutions.

Part III. Implementation Plan

Based on extensive contact with residents and other stakeholders and additional research into strategies used in other cities, the following implementation and evaluation plan is suggested with specific options for each priority issue.

Short-Term Priority 1: Boone Court Duplexes

Secure the structures immediately: Currently the rear of the buildings is not properly secured as the plywood has been pried off, giving full access to criminals. This must be secured immediately and NIS and police should monitor the status of such repairs.

Establish a Citizen Response Group: Consisting simply of a network of residents in the Hoover Road and Owen Street area who are interested in receiving updates on the status of the Boone Court property, this Response Group would alert its members via phone, email, or word of mouth to updates and information from the city. The leader of this Response Group will act as a liaison with a representative from the NIS department to stay notified of all progress with the property. Misinformation or a lack of information can cause residents to grow distrustful and false rumors can circulate. This group aims to keep communication open regarding court cases, court decisions, NIS activity, and other status updates. This group would consist jointly of Owen Street homeowners and Hoover Road residents, thus providing valuable interaction between the two groups.

Collect a petition expressing the desire for demolition: The Citizen Response Group could lead the effort to collect signatures from as many community members as possible to express the community's desire to have the buildings demolished. This petition can be submitted to NIS and presented before any future court hearings.

Demolish the structures: Following the 90-day stay granted by the court on April 14, 2009, NIS should proceed promptly with demolition of the site. \$22,500 in funding has already been appropriated within NIS to cover this expense.

Celebrate the demolition: Community members should celebrate the destruction of a stronghold of criminal activity and join together to reclaim their neighborhood. This can be a momentous event between Owen Street homeowners and Hoover Road residents. The Citizen Response Group can help the Department of Community Development and NIS plan the festivities.

Overview: This procedure can be quickly and cheaply implemented, with no additional costs except for the celebration festivities after demolition. Demolition is recognized as being important to the revitaliza-

tion of this neighborhood. However, if demolition cannot be accomplished, the city and Citizen Response Group could discuss the option of seeking a local community development corporation (CDC) to redevelop the vacant housing units into affordable housing options.

Additional long-term considerations: There are two additional long-term implementation ideas that should be considered for NIS and the city as a whole.

- Most neighborhoods within NECD currently have a high number of abandoned buildings, and NIS has proceeded with a policy of piecemeal demolitions. A comprehensive strategy to guide the city's policy towards abandoned and vacant housing units would be valuable in planning a systematic approach to deal with such a widespread issue. Baltimore had been demolishing large numbers of vacant properties throughout the 1990s and then issued a moratorium on destruction practices after they realized a focused strategy was necessary not just to manage a more efficient use of funds but also to promote redevelopment efforts by using coordinated demolitions to help achieve broader goals (Cohen, 2001, p.422). Establishing a city policy with all stakeholders—residents, CDCs, and various city departments—would assure that abandoned housing units would be handled with proper forethought.
- In Indianapolis, the city partnered with a state university to conduct an inventory of vacant houses (United States Conference of Mayors, 2006, p. 26). The last time Durham performed such a task was in 2003 through a similar university partnership with UNC-Chapel Hill and the Center for Urban and Regional Studies. Updating a detailed inventory would give the city a base to formulate an effective demolition strategy.

Short-Term Priority 2: Streetlights

Add more bulletproof shields on Boone Street: At a cost of \$1,243 per shield, the Public Works department should work with residents to determine streetlights of highest priority.

Appoint a Resident Light Manager: Within Hoover Road Apartments, there has been a lack of coordination between Duke Energy, DHA, and residents regarding reporting broken outdoor lights. As a way to involve residents while at the same time allowing residents to take ownership of their living place, DHA should appoint a volunteer resident who will twice a week survey the outdoor lights on the property, directly report outages to Duke Energy, and send periodic reports to Kelvin Macklin at DHA. This resident can earn required community service hours while performing these duties.

Add lights and bulletproof shields to outdoor lighting at Hoover Road Apartments: At a very low per light fixture cost, DHA should invest in additional outdoor lighting fixtures at high priority areas within the

apartment complex to address residents' concerns of low light conditions. Additionally, at a cost of just \$9.33 per month per shield, DHA should add bulletproof shielding to light fixtures at high priority areas within the apartment complex. Residents should determine these high priority areas for both lights and shields.

Below are costs for street and outdoor lights as reported by Duke Energy:

New Municipal Streetlights

- Bulletproof shield: \$1,243.73 per shield
- New streetlight with pole: \$9.48 per month total (includes light fixture, pole, overhead line, and electricity)

New Outdoor Lights for Hoover Road Apartments

- 150 watt Cobra streetlights: \$8-\$10 per month
- Bullet-proof shield for 150 watt Cobra streetlights: \$9.33 per month
- 9500 lumen floodlights: \$14.29 per month total (includes light fixture, pole, overhead line, and electricity)
- 27500 lumen floodlights: \$16.05 per month total (includes light fixture, pole, overhead line, and electricity)
- 50000 lumen floodlights: \$17.90 per month total (includes light fixture, pole, overhead line, and electricity)

Short-Term Priority 3: Police Presence

Reinstate the on-site officer program in the Hoover Road area: Residents liked that the police attended their gatherings in the past, and the residents were more comfortable contacting the police when they had a personal relationship. The HEAT patrols could still stay in place, but in order to adequately prevent and deter crime, instead of just reacting to it, residents feel a police officer needs to be stationed in the apartment complex. There is currently a vacant office room where the previous officer was stationed that could easily accommodate a new officer. The Reserve Officer program could match a volunteer or volunteers to fill this role.

Consider additional community policing measures: In an effort to increase police involvement in neighborhoods, the Metropolitan Police Authority in London, England, created a "Safer Neighborhoods" program in which teams of police officers were specifically assigned to neighborhoods throughout London. These teams, consisting of one sergeant, two constables, and three police community support officers, worked with local residents to identify priority issues specific to each neighborhood and solve these

problems; these teams are permanent and work at the grass-roots level. To date, 630 teams with 4,100 officers are stationed in London neighborhoods and are dedicated to community policing. A similar, resident-centered approach should be considered specifically in the Hoover Road area.

Hire additional H.E.A.T. officers: The H.E.A.T. patrol is allotted twelve members, although right now the team only has nine, and these officers are to cover the entirety of Police District 1. The officers are spread throughout the area in the city with the highest crime; therefore, it will be harder for the teams to focus their attention on one neighborhood. In an area where residents are anxious about leaving their apartments at night and drug dealers and prostitutes wander the street, there should not be an understaffed police unit.

Increase communication between residents and police: Many residents on Owen Street are actively involved in PAC meetings, but involvement from Hoover Road residents should be increased. Even so, PAC meetings are often general and encompass many neighborhoods. The police need to better understand the unique concerns of the Hoover Road neighborhood so that they can formulate plans specific to this area. The Crime Awareness Committee as created by DHA and the Police Department is a step in the right direction, and regular meetings with residents should be established.

Short-Term Priority 4: Programs at Hoover Road

Coordinate workforce training with DHA Resident Services: Establishing relationships with key organizations such as Durham Technical College can bring back the GED and educational programs that once existed at Hoover Road apartments. For example, Durham's Economic Workforce Development Department and Durham Technical Community College completed a Brownfields Environmental Technical Job Training program with funding from the Environmental Protection Agency. This is the first year of the program and had 17 graduates from Northeast Central Durham (Durham Tech, 2009). Programs such as these can be used as starting points from which to create a better economic future for the residents of Hoover Road Apartments. Coordination is necessary between DHA Resident Services, the Hoover Road Residents' Association, and appropriate workforce and education training programs among the city government and nearby schools. The proximity of Durham Technical Community College to Hoover Road begs for a future partnership.

Long-Term Priority 1: Building Community within Hoover Road Apartments

"Building community" is essential for the growth and development of this neighborhood. The Owen Street residents and Hoover Road residents should have multiple meetings together and develop methods of communication. The long-term success of the neighborhood depends on these short-term community-building

efforts.

Short-Term Action Steps

1. Conduct a meeting with Hoover Road Apartment residents and government officials to set timelines and priorities for apartments: The President of the Hoover Road Apartments Residents' Association held the first residents' meeting of 2009 on Wednesday, April 22. When the residents of Hoover Road rebuild their resident network, they will be able to more effectively communicate with and have their needs met by the government officials and city departments, and they will be better suited to coordinate dialogue with the Owen Street Neighborhood. It is important that the residents of Hoover Road Apartments show signs of cohesiveness before the Boone Court Apartments celebration which could happen as early as July. Durham Housing Authority and the President of the Residents' Association need to create and follow a succession plan to weather turnover of the President's position.
2. Celebrate the demolition of Boone Court Apartments: The Hoover Road Residents' Association should be in contact with key homeowners to decide how they should celebrate. The celebration that the Department of Community Development plans should not be a stand-alone event. Rather, it should be a part of a larger effort to encourage dialogue between the residents and governmental departments and reclaim the drug and sex trade dens as their own. Residents should help to plan the event.

Long-Term Priority 2: Reduce volume of drug and sex trade

Consider the High Point intervention: High Point, NC has created a model that is now being replicated nationally to combat the sale of street drugs and by association, the sex trade. Rather than arrest the dealers constantly, the police invite dealers to the police department to face their community members who are angry about their actions but pledge to support them to find jobs and education. This model has seen the drug market in the West End Neighborhood of High Point dry up almost completely, with violent and drug related crime dropping 40%-50% and little to no displacement (Kennedy, 2009). Kennedy asserts that the intervention has been "fairly easy to maintain" because the responsibility to keep the drugs out the neighborhood is carried by community members. There are small financial costs involved with this program. According to their website, the City of High Point Police Department works with a full-time city employee from the Community Development and Housing Division to help clients access resources. Each client is eligible for up to \$300 of financial assistance, which has been used for rental down payments or books or tuition for school (City of High Point Police Department).

Focus on rehabilitating sex workers: If the Durham Police Department has not done so already, it would be beneficial to the city and residents of NECD if they focus on the rehabilitation of sex workers.

Make sure crime is eliminated, not displaced: To prevent displacement once the Boone Court Apartments are removed, the Durham Police Department should issue their recommendations and present their strategy to the residents prior to the Boone Court demolition. The respective Residents' Associations need to keep the pressure on the police through their involvement in PAC 1 and in other ways to remove the drug and sex trade blight from their community.

Form a joint Neighborhood Watch: It is recommended that Hoover Road Apartments and Owen Street form a combined Neighborhood Watch, or at least keep each other informed, due to their close proximity and shared issues.

Long-Term Priority 3: Economic development

Enforce codes on auto repair shops: Several residents mentioned that some of the auto repair shops on Angier Avenue violate city code in the length of time vehicles are parked at the building. Those auto repair shops take on more the form of auto salvage yards and become an eyesore to the neighborhood, stunting the potential for new economic activity.

Perform the Streetscape Project at Angier-Driver: A concerted effort by the city and developers to reestablish Angier Avenue as a commercial district would serve to reverse the spread of blight and instead bring jobs to the area. An improvement at the Angier-Driver corridor would strengthen the commercial activity along Angier on both sides of Driver.

Promote industrial development: A large amount of land remains vacant in the industrial areas surrounding the Hoover Road area. If this land were developed to bring more jobs into the area, not only would the residents potentially benefit from job offerings but the increased activity would boost all commercial activity in the area.

Encourage higher density residential construction: If economic development is a goal across NECD, higher residential densities should be considered to give fledgling businesses a larger residential base. An ample amount of vacant land could be rezoned and redeveloped into higher density, mixed-income, even mixed-use development.

The Hoover Road/Owen Street neighborhood residents deserve a welcoming and stable place to live. Through the suggestions and observations that this report has provided and through continued efforts the City of Durham, and Hoover Road residents, this neighborhood can become an even stronger and more solid community within Northeast Central Durham.